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# Emrys Hughes, MP, on MONTY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

## Is he thinking again?

**WHAT** a curious speech that was that Field Marshal Montgomery delivered to the Parliamentary Press Club on Wednesday of last week

Talking about the present tension between the West and Russia, he said:

"Are we going to hand over to the youth of today this frightful dog's breakfast?"

"I say 'No.' Never!"

"We have got to find the light at the end of the tunnel."

"We have got to hand over to youth some decent world in which they can do their stuff. That is basically my philosophy, and that is why I am going to Moscow."

I rubbed my eyes when I saw that. I had the impression that Montgomery could be classified as one of the hopeless old military die-hards, the last person in the world from whom to expect an enlightened view of our international problems.

Over and over again he has made speeches which far from helping to relieve the tensions only tended to increase it.

Of course, there are other military men who have become convinced in their later years of the stupidity and futility of war. General MacArthur startled the USA a couple of years ago by declaring that he had become a pacifist, and Air Commodore Dowding, of Battle of Britain fame, when unveiling a plaque to commemorate this event, astounded his audience by the blunt declaration that anybody "who wasn't a pacifist these days was an ass."

So is it to be Monty next?

### 'The mess we are in'

He is going to talk things over with the General Staff in Moscow to see if he can find a "light at the end of the tunnel."

He told the pressmen that he had been accused of having "no political sense."

"Look at the mess we are in after two wars and fourteen years of peace. . . . Generals have been making militant speeches about this and that with each side saying they will not give up one inch. I do not think that is good."

I rather thought the Field Marshal had been making speeches that sounded political.

There was one he delivered at the Royal United Services Institution, not quite a year ago, on October 24, 1958.

### Mr K. might agree

I have been reading it again. There was a lot in it which will not be approved of in Moscow, but there were some admissions in it with which I think Mr. Khrushchov might agree.

There he said:

"The situation will arise sooner than some of us think. . . . We must remember that Russia could bombard the United Kingdom effectively NOW. And the Western Alliance could devastate Russia NOW. So in due course we shall have reached complete nuclear sufficiency on all sides."

"What happens next? Some think we shall then be on the brink of the Third World War, an all-out nuclear war. I do



Before atom bombs were used, tens of thousands were killed in one raid on the German city of Dresden in 1945; so many that, as this picture shows, bodies were piled on girders and cremated in the streets.

not agree. Let us have a close look at this problem.

"I assume the West will never be the aggressor. In the event of minor Russian aggression with conventional forces, do you believe the West would use its nuclear deterrent AS A WEAPON against the cities of Russia and receive in return Russian retaliation which would put the UK and the USA out of business? For us to act in this way would be to commit national suicide. I do not believe it will happen."

"When both sides have nuclear sufficiency, the deterrent will merely serve to deter each side from using it as a weapon. Russia does not want her country destroyed any more than we do." Now all this is logical, realistic thinking. But where does it lead to?

At the time of this lecture Lord Montgomery could think of nothing else than strengthening our conventional forces and reorganising NATO of which he is not by any means a worshipper.

Indeed, he has made more damaging criticisms of NATO than anybody else, and more damaging when we remember that he

was until his retirement its Deputy Supreme Commander in Europe.

It was he who told us in the same lecture that

"NATO is cumbersome, complicated and grossly overstuffed. There is an enormous waste of money and effort. . . . The strategic thinking is muddled and confused. The global aspect of defence is totally disregarded."

Not that Montgomery wanted to end NATO. He wanted to replan it.

But for what purpose?

It was then that Montgomery himself became confused and failed to carry his thinking to its ultimate conclusion, for he embarked upon what was a political discussion of organising the Western World for a global strategy against Communism.

If he goes on talking on these lines then of course there will be no agreement with the Russians, and we will never get any further out of the tunnel.

But in military affairs Montgomery did not by any means have a static mind. He was prepared to learn quickly by experience and to swiftly change his tactics.

His speech at the Parliamentary Press

Club certainly revealed that he has become completely dissatisfied with our conventional political approach to Russia. He has clearly become aware of the bankruptcy of the thinking of the Western politicians.

A few weeks ago he caused a sensation by an article in the Sunday Times in which he advocated a thinning out of our forces in Germany and hinted that the United Nations might take a greater part in the administration of Berlin.

This is coming very near some of the Russian ideas of the way to ease tension in Europe.

Who knows, a man with a keen, restless mind like Montgomery, who in his retirement may have had more leisure to think things out than he ever had when he was a serving officer, might come to the conclusion that if the world is to be saved, the ideas of governments must be radically changed, and quickly.

So I am glad that Montgomery is going to Russia, just as I was glad that Macmillan went there, and await with great interest and curiosity what he will say when he comes back.



# THE WAR TO SAVE THE NEW

By Harry Elmer Barnes

*This is another of our articles in the "Historical Blackout" series. In it, Harry Elmer Barnes describes the events leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack and some of the personalities who were involved in these events. The article is in two parts, the second of which will be published next week. With the second part we shall also publish a list of books that give a full account of what Professor Barnes has outlined briefly in his article.*

ANY treatment of the events which led to the Japanese attack of December 7, 1941, on the United States Pacific Fleet, which was peacefully berthed at Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, must necessarily be brief and limited to essentials if held within the space allotted to this article. It cannot pretend in any sense to be even a concise account of the whole story of the entry of the United States into World War II.

It should logically start with a few facts about President Roosevelt's attitudes and policies with respect to war and Japan. While there can be little doubt that Mr. Roosevelt early discerned the possible glory and prestige of being a war president, it would be unfair to state that he wished to make war solely for that purpose.

It is clear that he ultimately turned to extensive armament industry and much war talk, beginning with his famous Chicago Bridge Speech of October 5, 1937, for the purpose of bolstering the slipping New Deal, assuring a Democratic victory in 1940, with a third term for himself.

Yet, if his attempted purge of his opponents in the campaign of 1938 had succeeded and if he had been able to get Congress to support some vast public works plan such as a hundred-billion dollar housing project to revitalise the New Deal, end the depression, and assure victory and a third term in 1940, it is quite possible that he would have rested satisfied with that and with the prospect of being able to act as a powerful mediator at the end of the European War. But the purge failed, there was no adequate new public works programme, and armament and war proved the means by which he actually ended the depression, gained a third term, and became a war president.

## Back door to war

Further, although the United States entered the war through the back door of Japan and the Far East, there is no doubt that Roosevelt really wished to enter directly in Europe, and he did his best in 1941 to provoke Germany and Italy to commit some act of war which would have enabled the United States to enter the conflict through the front door provided by

an adequate European "incident." It was only when this failed that he finally set up the programme to use the Far Eastern back door. Yet he never lost sight of the back door entrance from October, 1937, to December 7, 1941. It was his "ace in the hole."

Whatever justification or lack of justification the general political situation in the Far East provided for an American war upon Japan, this played little or no part in Roosevelt's attitude toward Japan. This was based on youthful favouritism and prejudice, and upon mature considerations of political policy and immediate expediency, following 1933, and especially after the summer of 1937. His ancestors, especially his maternal grandfather, had engaged in much profitable trade and other contacts with China, and this gave Roosevelt a lifelong sentimental affection for China.

## Personal hatred

When, in January, 1933, his two most trusted advisers of that period, Professors Raymond Moley and Rexford Tugwell, urged him not to adopt the bellicose policy of former Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson towards Japan, his answer was that he could consider no other course than supporting China against Japan because of his ancestors' happy experiences with and in China. And his main personal explanation of his animus against Japan was that he had been greatly annoyed when a student at Harvard by the boastful arrogance of a Japanese student in the institution at that time. He had never made any thorough study of the basic political realities of Far Eastern politics and history, and of their relation to the true interests of the United States.

Roosevelt was more interested in naval history than in any other subject, and this had been intensified by his experiences as Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the first World War. If the United States ever entered a major naval war it would, necessarily, have to be against Japan, for by 1920 there was virtually no possibility of a naval war, or any other war, against Great Britain. In the mid 1920s there appeared a highly dramatic book on a putative war between the United States and Japan by Hector C. Bywater, entitled "The Great Pacific War." There is no doubt that this greatly interested and stirred Roosevelt, although at the time the book appeared he was showing a more friendly attitude toward Japan than at any other period in his life.

## Roosevelt's proposal

The possibility of a war with Japan continued, however, to lie in his mind to the time of his entry into the White House. In his Memoirs, James A. Farley tells us that Roosevelt brought up the possibility of a war with Japan as the quickest method of solving the depression in his very first Cabinet meetings in March, 1933.

The Cabinet as a whole was highly hostile to the proposal and Roosevelt immediately dropped it. But he did turn more or less furtively to a steady expansion of the American navy, even using for it in part money which had been appropriated for domestic, civilian reforms. A strong navy was not likely to be used against any future enemy other than Japan.

Such was the situation when there came a series of disconcerting political rebuffs to Roosevelt in the summer of 1937, accompanied by a very sharp and serious economic recession which threatened many of the New Deal gains of the preceding four years.

It was Roosevelt's efforts to deal with these problems which led to his adoption of an armament economy and, ultimately, of warfare, to insure his tenure in the White House.

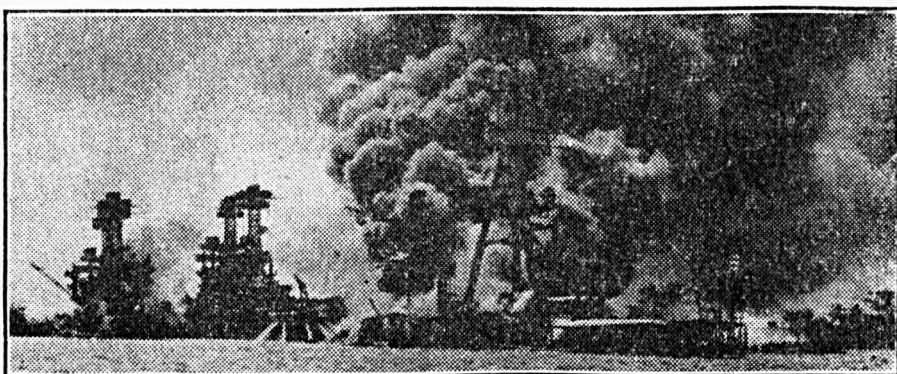
While Roosevelt was in large part his

own Secretary of State and handled the foreign relations of the United States about as he wished them to go, he had a very appropriate confederate in Cordell Hull. Few American Secretaries of State have been less fitted by knowledge, experience and temperament to hold that office than Mr. Hull, who might have made an excellent Secretary of Commerce, where his knowledge, experience and interests really lay.

## Political Pharisee

He had little knowledge of history, world affairs, or diplomatic procedure, and he had but slight grasp of the realities in international affairs or diplomatic methods. He was, moreover, a classic example of the political Pharisee in dealing with international relations.

Out of his ignorance of history, world affairs and diplomatic procedure, Hull built up a mental world of fantasy in regard to the desirable policies and activi-



The attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

ties of nations and their diplomatic representatives. He then proceeded to judge the methods, acts and proposals of other countries according to these imaginary standards which have been well designated as "Hull's platitudes, beatitudes and banalities."

If foreign proposals failed to coincide with these, then Hull tended to assail the countries involved with all the vigour and animus of a Tennessee feudist, especially if they were countries which he did not like, such as Germany, Italy and Japan—of these he disliked Japan the most heartily. One eminent American historian has likened Hull to "Devil Anse" Hatfield (the legendary Kentucky feudist), fitted out with pince-nez eyeglasses and a silk cord.

## Ideal collaborator

Whatever Hull's unfitness to act as a shrewd and statesmanlike Secretary of State, he was an ideal collaborator for Roosevelt in the latter's policy of keeping the back door open to enter the European War by the way of provoking a conflict with Japan. Whenever the Japanese came forward with a constructive, and often generous, proposal for maintaining peace with the United States, Hull would give them a hypocritical moral lecture and postpone any serious consideration of their pacific suggestions. No Secretary could have been more diabolically adept in the art of stringing along a nation that was to be kept dangling as a convenient enemy, if and when needed as such.

At no time before the actual attack on Pearl Harbor did the Far Eastern policies of Japan provide any serious menace to the actual safety and material interests of the United States in the Far East. Indeed, they offered numerous advantages to the United States. In the late 1930s Japan bought four times as much from the United States as did China. American investments in Japan were vastly greater than in China; in private securities, the Americans had invested twenty times as much in Japan as in China. Further, Japan was the one Far Eastern nation which had both the desire and strength to withstand the inroads of Communism and Soviet Russia in the Far East, which were the one serious challenge to American interests in that region.

The facts about Japan's attitudes and policies relative to the United States on the eve of Roosevelt's persistent provocations

of Japan were well summarised by the Californian Committee on Pacific Friendship in November, 1937. It may well be recalled that the State of California was the chief hotbed of anti-Japanese feeling at this time: "Japan has never harmed us. Japan is not threatening us. Japan has treated us better than any other world power in the matter of paying debts, courtesy to our visitors and residents, and never attempted to meddle in our affairs. If we are going to answer this fair treatment of us by enmity, no incentive is left for any country to treat us well in the future."

The treatment of Japan by Roosevelt and Hull from March, 1933, to December, 1941, constituted an almost unbroken series of indirect incitements, and direct rebuffs and provocations, although no sane person would represent Japanese foreign policy as founded on the "Sermon on the Mount." But, so far as the United States was concerned, it was neither challenging nor pro-

vocative. The programme of Roosevelt and Hull, based on the bellicose policy of Stimson in 1932, was both provocative and challenging to Japan.

## Moral embargo

The constant and increasing naval construction by the United States from 1933 onward could only be construed as a challenge to Japan. When better relations between Japan and the Chinese Nationalist Government under Chiang Kai-shek seemed to be developing, Roosevelt bribed the Chinese by a silver purchase arrangement and other measures to take a more truculent attitude toward Japan, and encouraged the Communist pressure on Chiang for war.

This bore fruit when war broke out again between the Japanese and Chinese on July 7, 1937. Roosevelt's Chicago Bridge Speech of October 5, 1937, branded Japan as an "aggressor" who should be quarantined. Roosevelt and Hull rejected two Japanese proposals for a final understanding with the United States as an alternative to Japan's joining the Rome-Berlin Axis.

The hostile public reaction to the Chicago Bridge Speech led Roosevelt to play down his public hostility to Japan, but on July 26, 1939, Hull informed Japan that the American commercial treaty of February 21, 1911, would be abrogated in six months. This was an economic blow and a political affront to Japan. In December, 1939, Roosevelt and Hull proclaimed a moral embargo on shipments to Japan which involved materials for the manufacture of airplanes and high quality aviation gasoline. Throughout 1940 a series of administrative orders drastically curtailed exports to Japan. Both Roosevelt and Hull consistently threw cold water on the earnest efforts of the American Ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph C. Grew, to co-operate with the Japanese in improving Japanese-American relations.

During much of the year 1940 Roosevelt was occupied by reacting to the alarming success of Germany in the war in Western Europe, with pushing aid for Britain, and in getting a peacetime draft law through Congress, but in June, 1940, he brought the vigorously anti-Japanese politician, Henry L. Stimson, into his Cabinet as Secretary of War, even though Stimson was a Republican.

This could hardly reassure Japan.

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# DEAL

Stimson, who had been strongly in favour of sanctions against Japan in 1932, encouraged the increasing embargoes on shipments to Japan in 1940. By April, 1940, the American fleet was moved to Hawaii and left there to be bottled up like sitting ducks in the Pearl Harbor base—a perfect target in case of any Japanese surprise attack.

When Admiral Richardson protested against taking this risk, he was relieved of his command by Roosevelt.

Joint Staff Conferences with the British began in Washington in late December, 1940, and continued until March, 1941. Extended to a special Conference with the Dutch in Singapore, in April, 1941, Roosevelt pledged the United States to make war on Japan if Japanese forces crossed a certain arbitrary line in the South Pacific, even if the Japanese did not attack American ships or territory.

## Japanese rejected

The Democratic platform of 1940 had promised that the United States would not make war unless attacked. In the meantime, Roosevelt had sent Harry Hopkins to London in January, 1941, to assure Churchill that the United States was in the War with Britain to a victorious end, although for months after that time Roosevelt vigorously proclaimed to the American public that all his aid to Britain was "short of war."

The most obvious and extreme of all the efforts of Roosevelt and Hull to keep open the Japanese back door to war came in January, 1941, when Roosevelt and Hull rejected the proposal of a Commission sent by Tokyo to Washington which made the amazing offer to sacrifice and surrender Japan's position in China in return for peace with the United States. This rejection led Professor Charles C. Tansill to suggest later on that the Far Eastern "War Crimes Trials" after the War should have been held in Washington rather than Tokyo.

But the Japanese did not let even this sweeping rebuff deter them in their efforts for peace. They co-operated with Grew in working for peace in Tokyo and, on March 8, 1941, Admiral Nomura, the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, made his first of some 40 vain efforts to reach some agreement with Secretary Hull. The latter only strung him along with exasperating sermons and evasions.

## War or collapse

Beginning in May, 1941, stringent economic pressure was applied to Japan which Washington authorities recognised would mean inevitable war with Japan unless this was later eased, of which there was no intention.

Philippine exports to Japan were banned by an executive order on May 29, 1941, and on July 26, 1941, all Japanese assets in the United States were frozen and all American trade with Japan was brought to a summary end. Japan now had the alternative of either war or ultimate economic and military collapse.

The next important step was Roosevelt's famous meeting with Churchill off Newfoundland, which started on August 9, 1941. The American public was led to believe that this was held for the purpose of drawing up a new manifesto of human rights to govern warfare, known as the Atlantic Charter. But the real aim was to perfect the back-door strategy, in case Germany did not commit some act of war on the high seas which would enable Roosevelt to enter the European war directly.

Churchill demanded immediate American entry into a back-door war with Japan, but Roosevelt insisted on having three months in which to "baby the Japanese along," in part to await a possible bellicose German act and in part to get better prepared for a war with Japan if the Germans did not provide the desired "incident." Roosevelt promised Churchill to do all possible to discourage any further Japanese peace

"America provoked Japan to such an extent that the Japanese were forced to attack Pearl Harbor. It is a travesty on history to say that America was forced into the war."—Sir Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos) speaking on June 20, 1944.

efforts and to strengthen the war party in Japan.

His first action of the latter nature was to make a sharp statement to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington on August 17 which was sure to harm the prestige and discourage the peace efforts of the Japanese Prime Minister, Prince Konoye, and to encourage any war party in Japan. The next step was the curt rejection of the remarkable proposal of Prince Konoye to meet personally with Roosevelt and arrive at a final solution of the Japanese-American impasse.

Konoye had made the astonishing offer to accept in advance, as the basis of his negotiations, the four fundamental principles laid down by Hull in April, 1941, as an adequate basis for a peaceful settlement of Japanese-American relations, and to meet Roosevelt on American territory. This rebuff to Konoye on October, 1941, led to his resignation and the appointment of a new Japanese Cabinet with General Hideki Tojo as Prime Minister.

While less aggressively pacific than the Konoye Cabinet, Tojo and his associates made a final sincere effort during November to preserve peace with the United States, and they sent a special envoy, Saburo Kurusu, who was highly friendly to the United States, to Washington to assist Admiral Nomura in the negotiations.

Roosevelt and Hull rejected the Japanese proposals in November as completely as they had the Konoye offer, although the Japanese terms amply pro-

tected all legitimate American interests in the Far East.

On November 26, 1941, the Japanese back door was kicked wide open and locked in that position when Hull sent to Japan an ultimatum which he and all top Washington authorities knew meant an immediate Japanese declaration of war if it was not modified. There was no intention of making any modification, and Hull at once bluntly stated privately to his associates that relations between the United States and Japan were from that moment in the hands of the American Army and Navy. Secretary Stimson crisply summarised the Washington problem:

"The question was how we should manoeuvre them (the Japanese) into firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

But the Japanese still left an opportunity for further negotiations.

When the Japanese task force left the Kurile Islands for the attack on Pearl Harbor, the commander was told that he should turn back if the United States offered to re-open diplomatic negotiations.

On December 7, 1941, Secretary Hull denounced in very explosive and colourful language the Japanese reply handed to him by Nomura and Kurusu, but in the light of the facts it was a very moderate historical summary of Japanese-American relations, considering the source and the conditions at the moment.

(To be concluded)

## PEACE NEWS—April 24, 1959—3 MEANS TO AN END

WE are perhaps a little dazed at the prospect of having a shop-window on the world when we move into our new premises this summer.

"If only we had a shop window." "We ought to have 'Peace News' as a bright Neon sign."

Yes, we've said it often enough. We have had day-dreams by the score. But always there has been the realisation that these things are not an end in themselves, rather a means to spread the influence of our weekly newspaper.

For some weeks to come our new premises will be London's No. 1 Voluntary Work Camp as friends of Peace News tear into the painting, decorating and other work for which we shall not have to employ professional contractors.

All the while the publication of Peace News will continue and the urgent need to meet our publishing deficit will remain. We have to raise £2,500 by Jan. 31, 1960. The figures below show that we still need £2,186 (apart from around £1,200 to complete our Building Fund). Never before was there a more suitable occasion for a thanksgiving gift. We hope our friends outside London will encourage our pacifist painters and campaigning carpenters by a bumper response to the Peace News Fund.

### THE EDITOR.

Contributions since April 10: £36 14s. 11d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £313 19s. 6d.

Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Alton, Hants, 10s., O.A.P., Essex, 10s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.



# PEOPLE AND PLACES

## Golden wedding

ABOUT 300 of their friends gathered at Whitefields Central London Mission last week to celebrate Dr. and Mrs. A. D. Belden's Golden Wedding and his fiftieth year in the ministry.

It was essentially a jolly evening, with Dr. Sidney Berry, grand old man of international Congregationalism, in the chair and tributes sparkling with wit and humour from many of Dr. Belden's fellow rebels and associates in a wide field of activities.

Many were surprised by the testimony of Mr. J. L. Thomas, the London Editor of the Manchester Evening News (evening edition of the Guardian with a bigger circulation than the daily). Dr. Belden is "ADB," whose religious column in the Saturday night edition remains a firm favourite with readers after 23 years.

Greetings from friends all over the world were read to the meeting by pacifist pamphleteer Wallace Hancock, a cable came in announcing a gift of £500 from the National Association of American Congregational Churches to the rebuilt Pilgrim Fathers' Memorial Church in Southwark in recognition of Dr. Belden's work there, and a cheque for £200 was presented to him as a gift from his friends (it is understood that a further sum is to come).

Dr. Belden has been a tower of strength to the pacifist movement. For twelve years—from 1927 to 1939—he was Minister at Whitefields. As one of the most eminent non-conformist Ministers of the time, he extended its work by instituting a clinic for psychological treatment under religious guidance. A big notice outside, "Don't give way to drink, drugs or despair—come and see us," became a noticeable feature of the Tottenham Court Road.

In 1939 he resigned, having become convinced, after 30 years of ministry, that the churches could achieve no real evangelistic success until war and poverty had been abolished.

In 1942 he founded the Pax Christi League, with its plan for the abolition of war through the Christian Churches of the world, and from April, 1939, to December, 1948, it was estimated that he addressed an average of 1,500 people a week on the problem of peace—a total of over three-

quarters of a million over the whole period, and all without the help of radio, which was closed to him after war had broken out.

Dr. Belden was won over to pacifism by reading Tolstoy, and Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion," on which subject he preached from his first pulpit, at Banbury, in 1910.

## In the bag or in the dark?

IT was a capacity London crowd that turned up to hear Michael Foot last week on "The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament after Aldermaston." There must have been 500 sandwiched into the Universities and Left Review's meeting in the Marquee under the Academy Cinema in Oxford Street.

The Campaign executive, Michael Foot announced, is planning a nation-wide campaign week in late September, in which there will be marches, meetings and picketing of rocket sites, and mass rallies to conclude the week.

The rest of Michael Foot's speech was disappointingly pedestrian, and much of it might have been to any meeting of the unconverted. But the discussion was very lively, with plenty of criticism, debate and suggestions. Refusal of taxes for Civil Defence, civil disobedience, the impending General Election, the token strike at Stevenage, the role of the Labour Party and the work of the Campaign Executive were all raised.

PN readers will be interested to know that the question of Michael Foot's support for the Labour candidate at the recent S-W Norfolk by-election was also raised. He was reminded that in speaking for the Labour man, who supports the Labour-Tory arms programme, he had said not one word about nuclear weapons. In summing up Mr. Foot explained briefly: "I believe he (the candidate) will be a very good supporter of ours." There was no reply to shouts of "When?"

An interesting contribution came from Mervyn Jones who, with great common sense, suggested that each Campaigner should do the particular work which he sees as most important, whether it is in civil disobedience, or public meetings, or work inside the Labour Party.

Unfortunately, of course, that is not a

Campaign programme. For example, some will be advocating voting for George Brown and others will be refusing to do so. Mervyn Jones' programme, then, is no substitute for thrashing out the problems which confront the Campaign.

This was one of the more disappointing aspects of the meeting—the implicit authoritarianism of so many of the contributions. It's apparently not important for the individual to see the way forward for the Campaign.

This came out clearest in Michael Foot's comments on the Election. Clearly any considerations of disarmament were to be left to an elect few who would decide these things for themselves. And so Mr. Hilton was supported at S-W Norfolk and we are told that "he will be a very good supporter of ours." In the fullness of time, presumably, but how are Campaigners to know?

It became clear as Michael Foot spoke that the Campaign Executive has no plans for making their programme a political challenge at the General Election. And Michael Foot thought that if the Labour Party Conference came just before an Autumn election there would be strong pressure to keep the issue quiet in the Labour Party.

## —Phyz

## IS PEACE POSSIBLE? Your questions answered

by VICKY  
(Evening Standard Cartoonist)  
JAMES CAMERON  
(News Chronicle Columnist)  
KATHLEEN LONSDALE F.R.S. D.B.E.  
(Scientist and Writer)  
STUART MORRIS M.A.  
(Gen. Sec. Peace Pledge Union)

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(Peace Pledge Union)  
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Written questions on current topics may be sent in advance to SYBIL MORRISON at the above address



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## TWO PLATOONS

THE MORE SERIOUS PAPERS occasionally publish an up-to-date assessment of the military position as a result of the rapid progress now being made in creating the new weapons.

How many people trouble to read these articles? Most readers who come to them anew, without previously having given detailed consideration to these problems, must feel themselves involved in some particularly ghastly dream-fantasy.

Having surveyed the considerations that the directing soldiers are discussing, however, the ordinary reader, unless he is painfully super-sensitive, can let all this nightmare stuff drop out of his consciousness and continue his ordinary day-to-day affairs in some saner sector of human business.

But what is the effect of these studies on the minds of the directing soldiers, the "top brass," and the instructors in the military academies, who must concern themselves daily with a constant stream of memoranda of this character, and with the discussion of their military implications?

These men must be something less than human. They do not become less worthy citizens in their ordinary relationships in life, but they must develop a vocational outlook that must affect them psychologically and set them apart from ordinary people regarding their emotional capacities, and particularly what we call compassion.

★ ★  
WE HAVE BEFORE US a recent article by the "Defence" correspondent of The Times, discussing "The Latest Trend in Atomic Weapons."

The possible minimum size and power of these weapons has been so reduced that we can now have nuclear explosives of a smaller destructive capacity than that of the largest "conventional" bombs used in World War II.

The weight of the largest non-nuclear bomb used then was nearly ten tons (22,000 lb.). The Hiroshima bomb, according to this correspondent, was the equivalent of 15,000 tons of TNT. (This used to be put at 20,000 tons, but 15,000 tons seems to be the revised figure.)

Much smaller nuclear bombs can now be exploded. At least one tested was the equivalent of only six tons of TNT—not so powerful, therefore, as some of the "conventional" bombs used in World War II.

Now, urges this correspondent, "with the advent of nuclear parity, making total war suicidal, public opinion is finding it easier to envisage limited war."

This is just what the military brass hat wants. With the arrival of smaller nuclear weapons his "logistic" problems become much easier, and he can fight his war without the cumbersome cavalcade of lorries and equipment hitherto necessary.

It is a complete fallacy to assume that it will be possible to keep a war within the limits decided by the generals in order to keep them in employment, and prevent it from being transformed into the war of total destruction; but it is not this question that we are discussing at present.

Today's military calculations, which may be easily falsified tomorrow, are that the attacker must concentrate his forces, and that this gives an advantage to the army that is in a defending posture, in that, with the creation of these smaller nuclear weapons, it will be provided with what are described as "lucrative" targets.

The US generals have for some time regarded two platoons as a potential atomic target, and although, of course, bigger combinations will be more "lucrative," two platoons will do.

Notice that it is the abstraction "two platoons" that is to be cancelled out. Nothing is said about tortured flesh, muscle, nerve and sinew; nothing about sizzled up blood, and excoriated bodies in postures of obscene agony. Just two platoons!

★ ★  
SUCH OCCASIONAL MATERIAL for the ordinary newspaper reader is what the class of generals and other high officers has in daily contemplation.

They will inevitably develop into a different kind of creature from the ordinary human being. They may be above average humanity or they may be below it, according to how you look at it. They will certainly be different.

Let us not be misunderstood. These men may be admirable citizens, neighbours and family men, loving their wives and their children and their domestic pets. So was Himmler, we understand.

When, however, you can equate two platoons and a six-ton yield nuclear weapon, and find that the former provides a sufficiently lucrative target for the latter, you are not far from the mentality that can regard the gas-chamber with equanimity.

## Monty for Moscow

FIELD-MARSHAL LORD MONTGOMERY starts his private talks next Wednesday with Russian Chiefs of Staff in Moscow. "I want," the victor of the Western Desert explained last week, "to have a sit-down round the table with them and examine the military problem of this game." Note the phrase, which carefully hides the nature of the world crisis.

"If," Lord Montgomery continued, "I have no political sense—which I entirely agree—there are a good many people who are loaded with political sense and do not seem to have used it very brilliantly. Look at the mess we are in after two wars and 15 years of peace."

We have, of course, much sympathy with these last remarks. What they obscure, however, is that the top brass have political powers—which all too often they are anxious to extend. In the same breath as confessing his lack of political sense, the Field-Marshal was explaining his political views, calling for concessions in the power struggle and distinguishing between vital and important interests.

We have seen—for example, in the Memoirs of Montgomery himself—the decisions with tremendous political consequences which the military have to take when engaged in total war. This is also true of the current era of preparation for total war. Consider, for example, the confusion over the question of who controls the warheads of tactical nuclear weapons in the field, or the policy statements of so many US generals.

Warfare requires military leaders; today these inevitably acquire political influence; democracy suffers still further from self-appointed politicians.

There is also a widespread fear that Montgomery is hardly a tactful man, and that one false move in Moscow could have very serious repercussions. This is always the danger when power is placed in the hands of an elite—the common people become helpless. The world held its breath whenever Mr. Dulles faced a problem; we should be better advised to take our fate into our own hands. Only then will dangerous Top People disappear.

## Torture again . . .

THIRTY-FIVE French Catholic priests who are serving as army officers (not as chaplains) in Algeria have stated that they are involved in activities that their consciences condemn. In a statement to be placed before the Bishops of their Church they record numerous arbitrary arrests of Algerians, and interrogations conducted by methods of torture.

They further state that there are summary executions of prisoners covered up by the plea that they were shot while attempting to escape; and it is "not unusual" for wounded men to be deliberately put to death during military operations.

The point of immediate importance about the priests' statement is the date on which it was drawn up, March 4 and 5. This means that despite the enquiries held and the assurance given—and despite the new regime under General de Gaulle—the resort to torture and other inhuman practices perpetrated by Frenchmen on Algerians continue.

The priests responsible for the statement, which has been published in "Temoignage Chretien" ("Christian Witness") and has been reproduced in translation in the Manchester Guardian, draw attention to an obvious consequence of these happenings: that long after their return to civil life the young men who are encouraged to perpetrate these horrors "will have deformed consciences." "To kill, to strike, to humiliate becomes normal for too many young men," they say.

The authors of the statement remark that the practices they refer to are very widespread throughout Algeria, but comment that they are not universal. Even in the most disturbed areas there are officers and men of remarkable character "who have succeeded in creating about them a state of mind contrary to such practices," and "in certain regions directives contrary to this trend have been given by the military authorities."

## . . . and the moral

THIS statement by the priests should present again very sharply the dilemma with which the author, Pierre-Henri Simon, found himself confronted when he denounced some of these practices in his book, "Against Torture."

These young priests declare that their observations are "inspired by no political opinion and are not meant to lead to any conclusion about possible solutions to the Algerian problem. They are also clearly not based on any disposition to challenge Christian participation in the method of war."

Nevertheless, unless these young men in the process of time begin to suffer from the same deformation of character that they observe will be inevitable among so many young Frenchmen, they will find that the

"innumerable crises of conscience" to which they testify can only lead to the total rejection of a resort to war on any ground whatever.

They remark that there are many, especially among the officers, "who are conscious that they are the victims of an inhuman situation which compels them to disregard the demands of their own consciences." "Compels them," let it be noted; war always produces an inhuman situation. The thing is inevitable when once war is embarked upon.

These young priests make the very significant comment that one of them had been subjected to a clear intention to compromise him as a priest "by putting him into situations in which he would be called upon to act in the way denounced by us above."

What were these situations? Is it meant that the priest was given some instructions by his seniors similar to those under which other young soldiers were required to act? Or does the complaint mean that the young priest was projected into situations which themselves presented the alternative of resorting to torture or of running possibly avoidable risks to the lives of his men?

We suspect that it is the latter that is intended, and it is the kind of military dilemma (so frequent in a colonial war of the Algerian type) that Pierre-Henri Simon found it so difficult to set aside.

The moral that must be drawn from this report, we believe, is the same that had to be drawn from Pierre-Henri Simon's moral involvement: that the attempt to insist on the acceptance of any kind of moral absolute in the event of war is bound to collapse. The foundation for the moral absolute can only be situated in the absolute renunciation of war.

## At Geneva

THE Geneva nuclear conference reached its seventy-fifth sitting on April 15 and has met several more times since then. It is, in fact, so old a veteran among conferences that few people any longer expect it to produce anything very exciting.

But the fact that it is so old, which also means that it has survived more than one serious crisis, is in itself, if not exciting, at least stimulating. It indicates toughness in the participants' desire to arrive at a solution of their problem—which it seems reasonable to ascribe to the fact that they are scientists, not militarists.

Unfortunately the militarists, though not actually present, yet manage to exert considerable influence over the Geneva discussions. Some month ago, they brought the conference near to collapse, when they "discovered" that underground nuclear explosions would not be traceable by the kind of supervision which the scientists had agreed upon as sufficient for that purpose, and still consider so.

Now they are putting another spoke into the wheels. Still insisting on control conditions unacceptable to spy-suspicious Russia over underground tests, the American Air Force generals and missile experts have just declared that nuclear tests in space must be exempted from any agreement to be concluded, in addition to the underground tests.

In effect this means that they are ready to ban test explosions only in the field in which they are no longer of much value to the military profession—on or near the surface of the earth.

Tests in space, they say, must not be given up, because it is possible that they may open the way to effective defence against ballistic missiles. Whether this is correct or not, since the exemption would obviously apply to both sides if accepted, it must mean a further loading-up of earth-surrounding space with noxious matter, in plain disregard of future generations' scientific, and probably also material, interests. No one at present knows what the effect of nuclear tests in space may be.

Apart from these contingent risks as well as the direct one of progressive nuclear "defence" experiments bringing themselves the danger of war closer, there is another, which was correctly pointed out by the Soviet delegate in the course of a Press conference a fortnight ago.

He called attention to the fact that, if the Geneva conference were to fail, "some countries" would certainly insist firmly on producing their own nuclear weapons and testing them. Then, he rightly concluded, it would become next to impossible ever to reach any kind of agreement on prohibition. This is so obviously true as to make it absolutely imperative that no one should do anything capable of rendering agreement at Geneva more difficult.

IN PERSPECTIVE

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# FUNDAMENTALS AFFIRMED AT PPU MEETING

Peace News Reporter

THE Peace Pledge Union's twenty-second Annual General Meeting, held at Bristol last week-end, was its best attended AGM ever to be held outside London.

The most important decision taken was the passing of an amended motion (Hull) by an overwhelming majority reaffirming "that the fundamental aim of the PPU is to work for the total abolition of war, leaving individual members free to take part in such activities as they wish."

This meant that the PPU continued on its usual basis and that it was not instructed, as the original motion from Alton required, to work or co-operate with the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War or the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Another policy motion—which was accepted—declared that "the essential basis of pacifism is an ethical quality of life and of human relationships, and that other campaigns are relevant only in so far as they are based on this view and express it in their methods." (N. and E. Midlands.)

A Pacifist Youth Action Group amendment to this, which aimed to alter the PPU's pledge to a renunciation of violence rather than war, was lost.

A Sheldon group motion which was not named a policy motion by the standing orders committee was passed with the necessary two-thirds majority: "That this

## Pacifists must find creative answers

PEACE NEWS organised a meeting at Bristol last Friday evening in connection with the Peace Pledge Union's AGM, at which Alan Lovell, Assistant Editor of Peace News, spoke on "Pacifism and Youth."

He referred to the new activity amongst students and young people since the Suez war, and said that this had its counterpart in the intellectual and artistic spheres too.

Pacifism, and not merely war resistance, was the only social philosophy that had an answer. Two particularly important aspects of it were personal responsibility and the establishment of non-violence in all relationships.

The young people now coming to social and political consciousness were bored, however, by the pacifist organisations, partly because of propaganda hostile to them, and partly because the movements themselves had failed to think creatively in meeting the questions raised by a new situation. "Being creative in answering these questions is the problem pacifists have to face." These last remarks provoked some heated discussion.

Alan Lovell contributes an article on Direct Action in the next issue of Universities and Left Review, out next month. He is also speaking on "Authority on the Screen" at the National Film Theatre on Friday, May 8, at a forum organised by the Joint Council for Education through Art (see People and Places, PN April 17).

## MABEL EYLES

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## St. Christopher School LETCHEWORTH

A school community of some 340 boys and girls (between 5 and 18 years) and 90 adults practising education on sane and successful modern lines. Applications now being considered for vacancies next year.

AGM expresses its grave concern at the retention of nuclear weapons and the establishment of nuclear rocket bases as a means of national defence, and calls upon Her Majesty's Government to examine by means of a Royal Commission the use of non-violent methods of defence."

Considerable doubts were voiced about the effectiveness of a Royal Commission for such a purpose.

## Direct Action

The AGM then passed by 166 votes to 55 a motion from Leeds expressing "its warm admiration of the courageous non-violent activities organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War," and hoped that "many PPU members will feel able to give it both moral support and financial and other practical help."

A message of solidarity and support was

sent from the meeting to the 14 young men currently in prison in Britain for refusing military training.

Closing the AGM, the National Chairman, Sybil Morrison, reminding members that the Pledge "allows us to work for pacifism in varied ways," called on them to work for their cause as people who thought success was just around the corner.

The ordinary person had got to be persuaded to renounce war. "Only when they are committed will the Government take notice of them."

## PPU National Council

THE following were elected members of the Peace Pledge Union's National Council for 1959-60: George Albon, Ron Barnes, Joyce Runham Brown, Trevor Davies, Frank Dawtry, Harry Mister, Allen Skinner, Arlo Tatum and Sam Walsh.

Area representatives on the Council are: Anker David, Cambridge; Allen Jackson, Devon and Cornwall; John Bullough, Lakeland; Douglas Clark, London; Iris Martin, Norfolk and Suffolk; George Devereaux, N. and E. Midlands; Mary Burt, N.E.; Reg Towers, N.W.; Margery Jones, Oxon. and Berks.; Campbell Wilkie, Scotland; Arthur Full, S. Bucks.; Frances Morgan, S.E.; William Guise, S. Midlands; Graham Hicks, S.; Grace Smith, Surrey; Eirwyn Morgan, Wales; Will Parkin, W.; Lionel Evans, W. Midlands; Geoffrey Tattersall, Yorks.

Ex-officio: Michael Tippet, President; Sybil Morrison, Nat. Chairman; Sybil Thorndike and Emrys Hughes, Hon. Treasurers; Stuart Morris, Gen. Sec.; Hugh Brock, Editor, Peace News.

# HOW MONEY FOR WAR COULD BE SPENT

ASKED last Sunday the way in which money at present spent on arms should be used and how unemployment could be avoided if Britain did disarm, Professor H. D. Dickinson, Bristol University economist, said:

"Give it back to the people, who will know how to use it and express their own desires in the markets available to them."

Any money that the State did retain should, he said, be used in the following four ways:

- (1) For the extension of the social services, closing the gaps in the Welfare State where there was still a need, to help the aged and widows, and to provide more adequately for the mental health services as well as other health services, and education.
- (2) For capital formation. We were not spending enough in this direction to keep up the level of productivity, as were the USA and the USSR.
- (3) For increase in scientific and technical research which could provide the biggest source of increased productivity in the modern State. Such research should be not only physical but also biological and social research, which were being starved of resources today.
- (4) For loans to governments of under-developed countries or to UN agencies.

Professor Dickinson was speaking as a member of the Panel at an Open Forum on International Problems held in Bristol last Sunday at the close of the Peace Pledge Union's Annual General Meeting. With him on the Panel were Will Coldrick, Labour MP for Bristol North-East, Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU, and J. Allen Skinner, Associate Editor of Peace News. Sybil Morrison was in the Chair.

## Unemployment

Dealing with the question of unemployment in the event of disarmament, Professor Dickinson said there was no need to fear unemployment, which would occur only if the Government did not take appropriate action. "The money given back to tax-payers would buy goods turned out by the factories at present turning out armaments."

Saying that he welcomed Professor Dickinson's careful analysis, Allen Skinner drew attention to the conclusions reached in the pacifist report, "Unarmed."

"Professor Dickinson has indicated his \*1s. from Housmans Bookshop.

allocations. Ours, as pacifists, would be different because we want to develop a completely different foreign policy. We should therefore be giving an increased proportion of the released resources to the under-developed countries."

Throughout the afternoon Mr. Coldrick was repeatedly questioned on the Labour Party's foreign policy. He made it clear that in common with his Party he did not share the pacifist position. He felt that Ernest Bevin had done first-class work in the field of foreign policy from 1945-51. He believed that the values of Western civilisation were worth defending and that our membership of NATO was justified.

## Values

On the question of values, Professor Dickinson declared that up to the time of World War II he had believed it was possible to defend them by arms without destroying society. "The reason why I am on this platform is that I am beginning to doubt whether it is possible to defend human values by modern means of defence. If this is so, then we may have to face the loss of these values in our day and generation."

"If we adopt a pacifist policy then we may have to face possible surrender, puppet Governments, and the end of our civilisation and political life." He believed that in the event of a Communist conquest the values which might be lost would emerge again in 400 years.

Stuart Morris pointed out that, while it was right that we should be reminded that certain values would go under, conquest might not take place. He recalled his own discussions with Mr. Khrushchov and others when in the Soviet Union last year, and went on to say: "It is only as we lower our guard that we can expect them to lower theirs. The USSR has got its hands full with its own economic problems."

Allen Skinner declared that Mr. Coldrick was refusing to look at the present in basing his belief on the military defence of Western values by the events of 1939. "You can't preserve these values by military means today. Earl Russell is not exaggerating when he says that at the end of the century it is likely that there will be no values and no human race." Mr. Coldrick said that he was well aware of the threat of extermination.

There was prolonged applause at the close echoing the appreciation expressed by Sybil Morrison of the way in which members of the Panel, particularly Mr. Coldrick, had faced the barrage of questions which had come at them from the floor.

PEACE NEWS—April 24, 1959—5

## A new approach for Labour

Peace News Reporter

TO break out of the nuclear stalemate and to give the people a new hope and a new vision Labour must adopt new techniques and a new approach to foreign and defence policy.

Members of the Labour Peace Fellowship will be urged at their Annual General Meeting to-morrow (Saturday) to convince the Labour movement of this, while redoubling their efforts for the return of a Labour Government pledged to peace and socialism.

Attention is drawn in the LPF's Annual Report to the Labour Party's failure to continue the campaign against the H-bomb, but "there is a growing feeling within the Party that Labour itself must take the lead."

"It must be Peace," a pamphlet by the LPF was widely distributed during the Party Conference last year amongst local Labour Parties, Co-operatives and trade unions, says the report. An Advisory Subcommittee which has been doing research into non-violence is shortly to prepare a comprehensive report. It will also give its views on the question of an international police force.

## Winning over TUs

Ron Huzzard, who is the Fellowship's editor of publications, will move two resolutions at the AGM:

The first urges the AGM to set up a committee to be responsible for the winning over of many trade unions to a bold peace policy. The second calls upon the AGM to welcome the demand within the Labour Party for a bold policy against nuclear weapons and other evils of the cold war and to expand its membership and activities, producing more pamphlets and statements and setting up committees to be responsible for such different aspects of policy as disarmament, aid to under-developed countries and non-violence.

An increase in the number of young members during the past year is seen as an encouraging sign, while more Labour Parties and Co-operative Guilds have affiliated.

The LPF during the coming year will be called upon to play its part by campaigning ceaselessly "for a policy of peace and socialism in the Labour Party, Co-operatives and trade unions."

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## PACIFISH ON THE PACIFIC COAST—II

# McCarthy survives in the U.S.

By VERA BRITTAIN

WHETHER one crosses from the United States into Canada or reverses the process, one becomes conscious that the McCarthy era has dominated American history in the 1950s much as the massive snow-clad peak of Mount Shasta dominates the Cascades Range between San Francisco and Seattle.

It is strange that this nefarious influence should have thus continued to bedevil the conduct of the kindly, hospitable and generous American people, for the late Senator Joseph McCarthy was an ambitious and self-interested Irish-Catholic provincial politician without a shred of greatness, either moral or intellectual.

Most Americans readily endorse this verdict, yet unless they belong to the small, keenly-conscious minority of "liberals" and pacifists who are even more critical of their own country than an experienced non-American would venture to be, they will greet a revolutionary individual or a controversial statement with an anxious discomfort which betrays their awareness that the McCarthy-initiated Committee on un-American Activities could still get them into trouble.

## Cold war fears

Outstanding American citizens such as Robert Oppenheimer, who were once "investigated" by this Committee, remain liable to have their lectures cancelled at short notice. Organisations which have ventured to accept an address on Russia by a courageous speaker still tend suddenly to get "cold feet" and demand a safer topic. Though I have met many fine American boys and girls who transcend these timidities, I am assured by teachers and others concerned with "youth work" that the worst effect of the McCarthy period on the young lies in the wide-spread acceptance of conformity as an ideal. To be "different" is regarded as anti-social; safety lies in the closest possible approximation to a type.

McCarthy's long-surviving influence is probably explained by the fact that the Senator really did embody and express the peculiar variety of tension, amounting in extreme cases to hysteria, which the Cold War has imposed upon the less rational American citizen.

It is worth noting that the Cold War is probably responsible for more overall fear in our contemporary world than any "hot" war ever contrived. The nation or individual who precipitates a shooting war presumably expects to win it, just as Hitler until almost the last expected to win World War II. But each side in the Cold War

knows that it cannot win. The best it can hope for, by the futile and dangerous piling-up of "deterrents," is to prevent its adversary from starting the conflict. Meanwhile suspicion and terror persist—on both sides if we can believe some of the journalists who accompanied the British Prime Minister to Moscow.

Against this suspicion and fear a few concerned American groups—far braver than their counterparts in Britain or Canada—ceaselessly attempt to act as a leaven of sanity and faith. They include the American Friends' Service Committee with its nation-wide educational programme, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. This last, which includes such famous Americans as Eleanor Roosevelt and Norman Cousins, the Editor of the "Saturday Review of Literature," would not describe itself as pacifist, though its founders number among them some well-known Quakers such as Clarence Pickett. As a group it is interested not only in the renunciation of nuclear weapons, but in the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

## Bad conscience

The American Friends' Service Committee runs three main offices on the Pacific Coast, in Pasadena (part of Los Angeles), San Francisco, and Seattle, Washington. After three weeks of continuous contact with these offices, I should judge that their difficulties are rather less acute than those of either the East or the Middle West.

The Eastern offices, dominated by Philadelphia, are uncomfortably close to the White House and the Pentagon; those in the Middle West have still to deal with a diminishing but not yet wholly vanished isolationism and suspicion of non-Russian Europe. In some parts of the United States it is still difficult to convey how totally the position of Britain and of Europe has changed in the past two decades.

The West Coast is further from the centres of Cold War tension, and has relationships with peoples across the Pacific which help to mitigate a one-track-minded concentration on the Soviet Union. It still suffers a bad conscience about the Government's harsh wartime treatment of American-born and educated Japanese families, who were compelled to leave their homes and jobs on the Coast and move inland. Many members of American pacifist societies helped to modify the hardships endured by these citizens.

## Veiled titles

But even on the West Coast it is not easy to gather a large audience for a peace meeting which boldly declares itself as such, apart from the periodic assemblies of Friends. There is a comprehensible preference for something less direct, such as addresses under discreetly-worded titles to churches, universities or women's organisations, TV appearances, and "live" or tape-recorded radio interviews. The size of two unequivocally advertised Canadian peace meetings in Vancouver and Victoria, BC, came therefore as a pleasant surprise.

The audiences at both these meetings eagerly took up the supply of Aldermaston Supplements which I brought, and the March has been well reported by both the radio and the Press in Canada. On my way across the Continent from Vancouver to Montreal I picked up a copy of the "Calgary Herald" for March 31 which gave almost a column of its space to the March. (Calgary is a city of nearly 200,000 people in Alberta, which must seem very far from Trafalgar Square.) American reports may have been equally good, but I left the United States on Tuesday before Easter.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Votes and the Bomb

I ALMOST despair of you ever understanding what it is that many people who disagree with you over the Voters' Veto issue find so annoying about the comments you have been making. Can I have a shot (not very hopefully, I admit) at doing what so many others, including Frank Dawtry, bless him, have failed to do?

In your reply to Frank Dawtry you say "... the H-bomb has changed the relative importance we ought to attach to armaments preparation as compared with other political issues." And again: "The one hope for humanity is that a pacifist approach shall be adopted." Rightly, you sound a note of urgency. Wrongly, I suggest, you imply that support for the Labour Party in the next election cannot be reconciled with these two fundamental statements. Further, you imply that all Labour MPs, including the pacifist ones, have put peacemaking lower down their list of priorities than other things. This is just not true.

I am not, as you know, a member of the Labour Party, but I would never dream of so belittling the efforts (and whatever you say to the contrary, that is the net effect of your present policy) of men like Frank Allaun, Fenner Brockway and Reg Sorensen. So far as I understand them it is because they agree with you about the urgency of the present situation, and the appalling dangers of racial suicide if we cross the brink into a third world war, that they urge us to work for the return of Labour at the next election. They see the present situation—and I agree with them—as one in which the immediate political need and possibility is a government which will not take us over the brink, which will, in fact, seek to avoid getting near it.

It is a hard fact that after the election we shall have a militarist Tory or militarist Labour Government. The peril of Voters' Veto is that it may ensure the former. The latter, for all its commitment to the nuclear menace, is less likely to indulge in escapades like Suez, i.e., is less likely to do a tight-rope act along the edge of destruction. Because the Bomb is such a menace, we must, without any sense of compromise, but because of unavoidable involvement in a war-committed nation, elect a Labour Government and thus win time for getting the pacifist approach, which you rightly say is humanity's one hope, adopted. For heaven's sake don't let us chuck the infant out with the bath water.—FRED S. MOORHOUSE, 121 Aslett St., London, S.W.18.

## Radio Wales

I LEARN that those responsible for the "pirate" Radio Wales are grateful to Mr. Owen D. Evans (PN, April 10) for his good wishes.

The BBC may not be responsible for the ban imposed on Plaid Cymru broadcasts, as he suggests. The Broadcasting Council for Wales, which has complete responsibility for programmes broadcast within Wales, decided in 1956 to arrange for two 15-minute political broadcasts by Plaid Cymru and the three English parties over the Wales station.

It was the Labour Party which took the initiative against that arrangement; with the support of the Conservative Party, it succeeded in persuading the Postmaster General to threaten to veto the plan. The Broadcasting Council decided to adhere to its decision. The PMG then vetoed the programmes; it was the first and only time ever for a PMG to veto any programme decided upon by the BBC.

The other night I heard a speaker on Radio Wales citing Stephen King-Hall's description of these political parties as "octopuses with fat bodies in London, and tentacles sprawling across the land struggling to obtain a stranglehold upon the votes of the people." They are evidently afraid of the right of the Welsh nation to self-government.—J. E. JONES, Heol Esgyn, Cardiff.

## March from Aldermaston

I HOPE my good friend Evelyn Peat will not mind my joining issue with her in regard to the point she makes about sup-

porting the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

She has become convinced it seems that "once nuclear weapons are abandoned other weapons become so much useless junk," on the grounds that "inefficient militarism is demonstrable foolishness."

The first part of this remark is simply an assertion based upon an assumption which cannot be supported by any evidence whatever. So far, even though three Great Powers possess nuclear weapons they have not been used, whereas conventional weapons have been used. Atomic weapons were not used in Korea, where a bitter war was fought with conventional weapons, plus the savage petrol jelly, napalm, for three years. Conventional weapons were used at Suez, and are being used in Tibet; they were used also in Malaya and Indonesia and Hungary, and have been used as a means of suppression in many other places.

Certainly "inefficient militarism is demonstrably foolish" which is the reason why it is totally illogical, and, indeed, futile, to demand from a Government that still relies upon the method of war, that it should give up what it considers to be its most effective weapon. If that weapon were abandoned, for whatever reason, it seems more than probable that there would be a big build up in atomic strategic weapons and other conventional weapons.

It is mere conjecture to say that other weapons will be junk if nuclear weapons go, and pacifists surely do not take a stand on guess work about military expedients, but on conscientious conviction that all war is wrong.

Weapons are not the root cause of war; it is war that is the root cause of weapons, so clearly the only way to rid the world of nuclear weapons, is to rid it of war.—SYBIL MORRISON, 6 Apollo Place, London, S.W.10.

## On the Frontier

TOM WARDLE'S excellent article, *On the Frontier* (PN, April 17), calls to mind Tolstoy's evolutionary concept of life. In "Religion And Morality" he points out that there are three views of life: 1, the personal, or animal; 2, the social, or pagan; 3, the universal or divine, and that man's sufferings were all due to the fact that he had outgrown the first two stages but refused to adopt the third. The human spirit, he said, had evolved to its highest manifestation yet conceived in the teachings of Jesus Christ, but men had persistently rejected these.

He quotes Ingersoll's excuse: "Christ's teaching will not do because it does not harmonise with our individual age." And then sums up the situation in the words, "Christ's teaching is unsuitable because were it carried into practice life could not go on as at present; in other words, were we to begin to live well, as Christ taught us, we could not continue to live badly as we are doing and are accustomed to do."

But if Tolstoy told us what to do, and made a statement of Christianity in his "Kingdom of God Is Within You" acceptable to the rational man, it was Gandhi who by his life as well as his teachings, taught us how to do it, i.e. by the acceptance of the three inseparable disciplines of Ahimsa, Brahmacharya and Satyagraha, the first and the last being based, as he taught, on the central demand. So far, it seems, that most pacifists are attempting to build without this basis, and so lack that "radicalism" indicated by Tom Wardle.—ESME WYNNE-TYSON, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

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## DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.  
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, April 24

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall (Room A). Lecture, "Breaking Through the Thought Barrier," Dr. Alan Litherland. Toldas.

LONDON: W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 3 p.m. C.A.W.G. Club Room, Gensing Road. Jumble Sale. Admission 3d. Proceeds PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: Friends Meeting House, Bull Street, 7.30 p.m. Berlin—Bridge or Battlefield. Speaker, R. W. Sorensen, M.P. Chairman, Rev. John Morris. Birmingham Peace Council.

Saturday, April 25

NEWTOWN, MONT.: 3 p.m. English Congregational Church. Regional Conference. 6.45 p.m. Public Meeting, "The Cross and the Bomb?" Rev. D. R. Thomas. Miss V. Cutting. For.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2 p.m. Kent Room, Caxton Hall. AGM Labour Peace Fellowship. 5.15 p.m. Brains Trust, Victor Yates, MP, James Hudson, Ron Huzzard, James Avery Joyce, LPP.

Sunday, April 26

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Sufi Service of Universal Worship. Rev. Cecil Gibbins. "Peaceful Relationships." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, April 27

LONDON, E.3: 8 p.m. Kingsley Hall, Powis Rd., Bow. Film Show: "Swaffham." Japanese Fishermen.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Friends Int. Centre. Fenner Brockway, MP, George Craddock, MP. AGM. No Conscriptio Council. Refreshments.

Tuesday, April 28

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bull St. "Russia." Stuart Morris, AGM West Midlands PPU.

STEVENAGE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Cutty's Lane. Film show and discussion on future of nuclear disarmament activities. CND.

WOOLWICH: 12-2 p.m. Royal Arsenal Co-op. Soc. Central Store, Powis St., S.E.18. Film show: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Bert Oram, MP, RACS, CND.

Thursday, April 30

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. Flat 7, Netherall Gdns. (between Hampstead and Finchley Rd. Stations). Social and Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU. E.10 and E.11.

Friday, May 1

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Free Trade Hall. Mass Meeting Against Nuclear War. Bertrand Russell, Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. Rotblat, Prof. Antoinette Pirie, Frank Allau, MP, Harry Knight, Chair. Lord Simon of Wythenshawe. CND.

LONDON, N.5: Steenoven House, 16 Aberdeen Road. 8 p.m. Dr. A. D. Belden. Service of Prayer for Peace, followed by social. Brotherhood of the Way.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. Local Tribunal for COs, public admitted.

LEICESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Queens Rd. Public Meeting. "Workcamps, 1959." Leslie Renwick, Leicester IVS.

Saturday, May 2

GLASGOW: 2.30 p.m. assemble Claremont St. (off Sauchiehall St.). Protest March. 4 p.m. Final Rally, Kelvin Grove Park. Rev. Clifford Macquire, Dr. A. B. Hart, Glasgow Council CND.

Monday, May 4

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge House, Ebury Bridge Rd. Appellate Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

Tuesday, May 5

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Public Meeting. "Is Peace Possible?" Vicky, James Cameron, Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Thursday, May 7

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd. Group Meeting—Alan Lovell (Asst. Editor of Peace News). PPU.

Friday, May 8

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7 p.m. "Rosebank." Church Road, Southborough Common. Special Meeting for members and interested friends for the re-forming of local group PPU.

Saturday, May 9

WETHERSFIELD: 9.30 a.m. Braintree Market Place. Protest March to USAF Air Base on Open Day. 2.30-5.30 p.m. Vigil at Wethersfield, Essex Area CND.

Sunday, May 10

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Albert Hall. Public Meeting. "Modern War—a Challenge to Christians." Canon John Collins, Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame Kathleen Lonsdale, Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon, John Neville. Friends Peace Committee and Christian Action.

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TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPP.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

\*\*\*\*\*

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Bring  
Commonwealth  
into freedom talks

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

LAST week in the House of Commons I tried to put across a new idea. Like most new ideas it did not receive a very favourable reception. But I am sure it will move towards realisation.

The idea is that when constitutional changes are considered in any colony or protectorate, the British Government should bring the other Commonwealth countries in the same Continent or region into consultation.

This would mean, for example, that the Government of Ghana should be consulted when the future status of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Kenya is being discussed. Or that India, Pakistan and Ceylon should be made a party to discussions about the Maldives. Or that Australia and New Zealand should have some voice in deciding the future of the British colonies among the Pacific islands.

## ADVANTAGES

I admit the limitations of the idea. The Commonwealth is a restricted group and is only partially representative. And even Continents will become artificial divisions in the increasingly integrated world to which we belong.

But the idea has advantages. It has the advantage, first, that in time it will get a good deal of support. There is growing pressure both in Britain and in Commonwealth countries for closer association in political and economic developments as the Empire becomes transformed into a community of sovereign nations.

A second advantage is the fact that nations which have emerged from colonial status are now numerically dominant in the Commonwealth. The representatives of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya and Ghana sit with representatives of Britain, Australia and Canada as equals. True, the Union of South Africa is also a member and that, illogically (for it is not independent) the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland has an observer at its meetings. But the weight of influence is now on the side of nationhood freedom and racial equality.

The third advantage is that expression would be given to the new sense of solidarity which is sweeping over Africa and Asia. It would be an immense gain immediately if Ghana were drawn into discussions about the future of East and Central Africa and the Protectorates in the South. It would be a still greater gain next year if Nigeria could participate, and, a little later, Sierra Leone. They would outweigh any influence which the Union of South Africa might have.

## BEGIN DISCUSSION

In Asia the sense of solidarity is not as complete as in Africa. There is the division between the Communist area, headed by China, the Western area, including Pakistan, Malaya, Thailand and the Philippines, the neutral area led by India, and the Arab area of the Middle East (now divided within itself). But the Bandung Conference showed that these difference do not destroy unity on the colonial issue. The influence of the Commonwealth Asian nations would certainly be on the side of national freedom.

In the Pacific the development of the island colonies towards self-government would be assisted by the co-operation of Australia and New Zealand; the two Dominions could help to give the economic stability which smaller countries need as they become free. In the Caribbean region the new Federation of the West Indies, which should become independent and enter the Commonwealth within the next few years, could contribute usefully to the

solution of the problems of British Guiana, and the Bahamas.

I hope this idea of Commonwealth regional responsibility will be urged not only in Britain but in all the Commonwealth countries. Because the date of our General Election is uncertain, there is apparently to be no Commonwealth Conference this year. But there is no reason why Commonwealth countries should not open discussion of this proposal by other means.

## NOT A FINAL METHOD

One does not claim, of course, that Commonwealth consultations should be a final method. Of the eight independent Governments of the Continent of Africa (excluding the Union of South Africa) only one, Ghana, is a member of the Commonwealth—and they have collectively declared their interest in every African country struggling towards freedom. Ghana and, soon, Nigeria, could contribute usefully to consultations about changes in British-administered Africa, but I recognise that traditional imperial associations are becoming of less account. All African territories, whatever the European flag which has flown over their government buildings, are becoming the concern of all Africa.

Moreover, the future frontiers of African countries are not necessarily going to reflect their past imperial associations. The coming together of the Republic of Guinea, liberated from the French Empire, and of Ghana, liberated from the British Empire, illustrates this fact. Maps are being redrawn in Togoland and the Cameroons. They will be re-drawn in the Somalis and in the French and Belgian Congos and in Portuguese Angola. Africa will make these decisions ultimately and not the French Union or Belgium or Portugal or the Commonwealth. Africa will move towards the United States of Africa ignoring the old Empires.

I suggest Commonwealth discussions only as the next stage. It would be of value in adding new voices of freedom as the wider associations emerge. May I commend the idea to Ghana and to Nigeria, on the eve of its freedom, and to India, Ceylon, Pakistan and Malaya? It is time that they contributed directly within the Commonwealth to the liberation of their African and Asian neighbours.

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## Briefly

Copies of the poster "Quakers Say No to All War" which attracted much attention on the Aldermaston March are available at 11d, post free from Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Quakers in many parts of Europe showed their interest and support for the Aldermaston March. In addition to Quaker marchers from Greenland, Norway and West Germany, Berlin Quakers sent financial support and messages came from Dublin, Oslo, Leipzig (E. Germany), Sweden, Rotterdam and Paris.

Richard Ullman will represent the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers) at a conference in Prague of theologians from the East and West. They will seek to find common ground in the Christian attitude to war. He will visit members of the Czech Brethren who have a long tradition of peace witness.

Fred Blackford, World War I conscientious objector, whose home was an "open house" to war resisters in the Maidstone, Kent, area during World War II, died on April 9. A local CO advisor, he spent much time in visiting those who had been court-martialled.



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## MEETINGS

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. Sunday Evening Meeting, May 3, at 6.30 p.m. "Peace of Mind," Speaker Alfred Torrie, at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

MODERN WAR—A CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANS. Public Meeting, May 10, at 7.30 p.m. at ROYAL ALBERT HALL. Speakers include Canon Collins (Chairman), Victor Gollancz, Dr. Gruber, Prof. Hromadka, Dame K. Lonsdale, Revd. Mervyn Stockwood, Jill Balcon and John Neville. Tickets 2s. 6d. res., 1s. unres., from the Hall or Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4 (CIT 6869); Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. (EUSTON 3601)

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## Scotland's Aldermaston March on May 2

THOUSANDS from the Highlands and Lowlands are expected at Scotland's "Aldermaston March" on Saturday, May 2.

Marchers who will assemble in Claremont St., off Sauchiehall St., will tramp across Glasgow to a final rally at 4 p.m. at Kelvin Grove Park.

There Clifford Macquire, former secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and now a Glasgow Congregational Minister, and Dr. A. B. Hart, will speak for the Glasgow Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which is organising the demonstration.

Before the March a meeting for worship will be held in the Glasgow Friends House at 16 Newton Terrace.

Would-be marchers can gain an introduction to what may be in store by seeing the film "March to Aldermaston" which will be shown at the Cosmo Cinema the preceding week.

## Protest march to U.S. air base

THE Colchester Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are organising a protest march from Braintree, Essex, to the US air base at Wethersfield on May 9, "Open Day" at the base.

A similar demonstration took place last year when six or seven thousand people visited the station.

"We are to make this a CND area effort this year," Donald Smith, of 99e Winnock Road, Colchester, told Peace News last week.

The march will start from Braintree Market Place at 9.30 a.m. A vigil at the base will take place from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m.

Voluntary help required by PN Editorial Dept. in indexing pictures. A few hours weekly, or longer periods if available. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

### NEXT WEEK

Dr. George MacLeod, will be writing about the British Council of Churches' pamphlet "Christians and Atomic War," which was issued this week.

IN the Sunday Times last week, under a heading "Voice of a Lost Generation," there was an article about Richard Hillary, who was shot down in the Battle of Britain in 1940, and, after recovering from dreadful burns and wounds, wrote a book called "The Last Enemy," which has sold 360,000 copies in English and been translated into every European language.

On reading the title of the article I imagined it to be about the slaughtered generation of the First World War, but, on the contrary, it referred to that section of young men who, after passing a resolution vowing their determination never again to "fight for King and country," did, in the event decide to do just that.

The story of Richard Hillary is one of intense physical courage in the face of frightful disfigurement and appalling pain. That he recovered from his dreadful burns seems to have been due, in part at least, to a determination to conquer pain and humiliation, and to live. In spite of that long ordeal in hospital and his victory over death, he died three years later in a night flying accident in 1943.

He had written in his brief will: "I

# CD meant civil disobedience in U.S. exercise

EIGHTEEN PACIFISTS WERE ARRESTED OUTSIDE NEW YORK CITY HALL LAST FRIDAY WHEN THEY REFUSED TO GO TO SHELTER DURING A TEN-MINUTE NATION-WIDE CIVIL DEFENCE EXERCISE.

In Philadelphia 27 people carried posters and distributed 2,000 leaflets as a protest.

No arrests were made since the Pennsylvania CD laws do not provide for punishment of offenders.

According to the Peace News reporter in Philadelphia, David Gale, most of the pedestrians carried on walking, oblivious or apathetic when the sirens blew and traffic stopped. He writes:

Included in the protesting group were 12 Haverford and Bryn Mawr College students, who later left for Washington, DC, to participate in the Youth March for Integrated Schools on the following day. Others included Lawrence Scott, co-ordinator of the Committee for Non-Violent

Action; Theodore Olson, of Cheyenne missile base jail fame, and several staff members of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), including Norman Whitney, head of the Peace Education programme.

Earlier in the day 60 people had gathered at the AFSC offices for a meeting of meditation.

Many parents and students have lodged complaints with school authorities about air raid drills in the schools. In several cases arrangements were made with principals so that students opposed to the drill could remain in their seats. Some parents kept their children at home; at least two or three mothers planned to attend school with their children to stay with them while the drill was conducted.

Leaflets distributed in Philadelphia by

the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peacemakers said:

"Why today's hopeless exercise? To kid ourselves that we can run away instead of attacking the real problem: nuclear armaments; to keep us in a psychology of fear, so that we will be willing to go on paying for armaments which cannot protect us, which we dare not use.

"Civil Defence will not work. Federal Civil Defence Administrator Peterson tried for years to make sense of Civil Defence. Finally he quit. So have we.

"We propose that we all get to work on the real problem: the arms race itself.

"Every arms race ends in war.

"War with nuclear weapons is suicide.

"If we want to fight a war, why not fight the real enemies: poverty, ignorance, apathy, hunger, disease, fear, violence.

"America has the weapons to fight these enemies. Let's quit playing games and get on with the job.

"Living in peace is the only defence."

## ACTION NOT TALK WILL BRING PEACE

By Constance Willis

THE Rev. Clifford Macquire, former secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and now a Glasgow minister, rose to enthusiastic applause at a London meeting on "The Cross and the Bomb" last week.

One of the reasons war was still possible, he declared, was that people did not do more than talk about it. They passed resolutions but did not show resolution.

All the Church statements had been antagonistic to war. The World Council of Churches had stated at Evanston: "We are to let every man know that he is of inestimable worth in the sight of God."

"You can't show this by treating him brutally, let alone by slaying him, or even by preparing to do these things," said Clifford Macquire. "The pacifist movement is not in a minority; we are simply saying, 'Yes, we agree with what you say about war. War is wrong and therefore we have renounced it.'"

Christians, by not committing themselves to the renunciation of war, failed to relate the Christian Gospel to international relationships.

"This may well be the reason why young people—especially those who go away on 'National Service'—seem to develop an antagonism to the Church.

Every single Sunday School textbook is pacifist—exhorting giving to the uttermost service without counting the cost.

"Faced with what is patently a contradiction of all they have been taught they throw away the whole thing. Generation after generation we have followed this way of settling our international differences and allowed war to determine our political behaviour, even conscripted men and women to train in scientific methods of slaughter.

"Let this generation drop it. It has not succeeded, and what is more your participation in war will devalue your faith.

"In what way on the battlefield can you distinguish the Christian from the non-Christian? Is there a Christian way of pressing the button, as opposed to a non-Christian way? . . . What is the distinction at the Conference Table between the

Christian West and the atheist East?"

Referring to recent correspondence in the Christian World regarding the possibility of omitting the line "Sufficient is Thine arm alone" from the hymn "O God, our help in ages past," Mr. Macquire urged: "Let us amend our behaviour, not our hymns."

## Mental observation for Hiroshima pilot

THE US Air Force pilot who led the two atomic bombing raids on Japan in August, 1945, was committed to hospital for mental observation at Dallas, Texas, recently.

The ex-pilot, Mr. Claude Eatherly, who claims that at Hiroshima and Nagasaki he killed 100,000 Japanese, has been in several mental hospitals since the end of the war.

For the last few weeks he has been in custody on charges of trying to rob a grocery store. The district attorney told the court that Mr. Eatherly believes that Japanese are seeking to kill him.

gifted as was Richard Hillary, or not so gifted, who were burned alive, blinded and blasted and blown to pieces in the air, or on the blood-soaked sands of Dunkirk, each suffered his own separate pain in exactly the same way as each single human being in a nuclear war will alone suffer his.

Ultimately the human person stands alone; no one else can bear his pain, no other person, however dear, can suffer his grief, no friend or companion, however close, can share the utter aloneness of his dying. Whether a war brings death or disaster to thousands or to millions this remains true; in the matter of pain and death numbers are meaningless.

Richard Hillary would have been 40 this year along with many other young pilots who were only 20 in 1939. It would seem to be laid upon us who are alive to-day to persuade the present generation that for all their courage these young men were mistaken, and that war is never worth fighting.

Governments are unlikely to alter their militaristic policies, but people, young and old, can commit themselves to a refusal to assist them in those policies by saying No, here and now, to war.

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By Sybil Morrison

## A deluded generation

*I determined to write about it in the hope that the next generation might realise that while stupid, we were not that stupid, that we could remember only too well that all this had been seen in the last war, but that in spite of that and not because of it, we still thought this one worth fighting. . . .—Richard Hillary, The Last Enemy.*

want no one to feel sorry for me; in my life I had a few friends, and I learnt a little wisdom and a little patience. What more could a man ask for?" This is a pathetic piece of escapism, since a man could well ask to live for much longer than 23 years.

His experience had been so short that, though the will to live had induced in him a tremendous struggle for his life, he had not in fact gained the wisdom to understand that what he had himself endured, he had also inflicted upon someone else, and that what he had discarded in earlier life was more true and real than the war he decided was worth fighting.

He is not destined to achieve his wish that no one should feel sorry for him. I feel sorry for him, as I feel sorry for all young people dead too soon. I am sorry, too, for his parents, bolstering their grief

with pride, for here was a man of great courage, a man of considerable literary gifts, a man outstanding for his wit and skill; what might have been his contribution to his generation, and to generations to come, is incalculable, and now will never be known.

That there should still be, in this nuclear age, anyone left to glamorise the war that made that age possible, as does the writer of the article, is something deeply to be deplored. Richard Hillary was a courageous and unusual man, but let us not pretend that his life was anything but most bitterly wasted, and he himself deluded by the idea that war can make peace.

The Battle of Britain, and the débâcle of Dunkirk, are epic tales of courage and determination, but they are also tales of carnage and ruthlessness. The young men,